4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (楊 and 杨). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

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[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people. With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

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In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hupei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

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it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although originally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drainages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood. The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff combat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei) defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'ü Hsia. Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was unable to absorb this independent group of Miao that had migrated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao entity to modern times.[56]

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureaucracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary to follow Hirth[1] in considering that the tribes peoples of Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities." This sort of a development is not impossible, of course, for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Sinicization of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encountered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries later in the shape of important changes that must have taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folklore, superstitions and art."[57] Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, probably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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HISTORY AND MIGRATIONS

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-